7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



172 764 The mounds vary considerably in size. One called Huluipaongo (*hulu*, dry leaves; *paongo*, a vine producing the *hulu* leaf, now growing plentifully about the mound), is situated near the southwest point of the island of Lifuka, Haapai. It is 15 feet high, with a diameter of 40 feet at the top [175] and 110 feet at the base. This mound contains the tomb of the Matauvave family, and as the first Matauvave was appointed governor of Haapai by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai at a date approximating 1540, was probably built in the sixteenth century.

An ancient *faitoka*, situated at a place called Houmakalae near the town of Otea, Kapa, Vavau, is 16 feet in height and 100 feet in base diameter. It is called Avatongo (*ava*, crevice; *tongo*, mangrove shrub), but no accurate information was found regarding its history.

The average *faitoka*, however, is smaller and is well represented by that called Kelekelemeifisi (*kelekele*, earth; *mei*, from; *fisi*, Fiji), situated on the southern outskirts of the town of Maofanga, Tongatabu. It has a maximum [173] height of 8 feet and a base diameter of 75 feet. It is the burial place of Lavakahaatuukau, an important chieftain who moved to Maofanga from Mua and there built this *faitoka*, according to tradition, exclusively from earth brought from Fiji.

[217] The Tongans maintain an admirable respect for their ancient dead, a respect which is strengthened by well kept genealogical records, by means of which present day inhabitants trace their descent from those buried in many [128] of the ancient tombs. Archaeological excavation of *faitoka* is prohibited and a thorough study of stone vaults (*fonualoto*) is therefore impossible. The one vault available for observation, though not in a *faitoka*, probably closely resembles it in every particular (p. 50).

172 764 127 I am indebted to Mr. Guttenbeil of Niafu, Vavau, for a description, based on first hand observation, of a *faitoka* vault. Mr. Guttenbeil witnessed the burial of a boy related to Maatu in the vault of the ancient Maatu *faitoka* on the island of Niuatoputapu. According to his account, confirmed by Maatu and other qualified informants, the vault had not been used for several generations and its exact whereabouts in the more recent burial ground, which had come to practically cover the *faitoka*, was known only by one old 172 woman. She indicated the place to dig. The workmen dug through many 764 more modern graves, placing the exhumed bones carefully to one side. Finally they came to the flat stone lid of the vault, which was 15 feet long and 10 feet wide. It was found to be so heavy that all attempts to remove it failed. Accordingly, one end was cut off to afford an opening. The narrator with others entered the vault. It had four perpendicular slab walls and a horizontally placed slab for floor. The stones were smoothly dressed. A skeleton lay prone, face up, in the center of the vault floor. This they reckoned to be the remains of the Maatu who built the tomb. Around the

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



## DISCUSSION OF STONE STRUCTURES

### ORIGIN OF STRUCTURES

There is no reasonable doubt that the dressed stone structures of Tonga, the stone-walled *esi* and langis and the trilithon, are the products of the present inhabiting race. There is not the slightest evidence warranting the assignment of an age to any of these structures which would be incompatable with such a conclusion. The technique of stone dressing is quite within the limits of Tongan talent and equipment. The necessary methods of quarrying, transportation and erection harmonize perfectly with the state of primitive Tongan culture. The necessary organization of man-power required in the undertaking of such huge constructive projects was the logical result of centralized power vested in the single head of political and social Tonga, the Tui Tonga. Local tradition reflects not the slightest doubt as to Tongan origin. Native accounts of the building and use of these structures have the practical and accurate sound of historical records; most of them are surprisingly free from even the most obscure mythological associations. The mythical accounts are easily separated from historical accounts and are patently free from historical purpose. Some of these structures were actually built in historic times under the observation of reliable European witnesses. Many of them are still used from time to time in their traditional capacity.

This impressive ethnological evidence justifies the treatment of these interesting monuments as the work of the immediate ancestors of the present population of the archipelago.

### RELATIVE AGE OF LANGIS

During the search for information regarding specific langis, a list of named langis on Tongatabu, written in Tongan, was placed at my disposal. In it are a few historical notes. The true source of this material is rather doubtful. It was first seen in a notebook in the possession of Uhatafe, an old man of Mua, Tongatabu, who is directly descended from a line of high matapules formerly in the service of the Tui Tonga. Uhatafe stated that he had written the notes when young, having gotten the information from his father, who had in turn received it from his father, and so on. Identically the same list was later found in a magazine printed in Tongan by the Catholic mission at Mua. Whether or not this printed version had been copied from Uhatafe's book could not be determined. The following is a translation of the manuscript:

> The book of succession of the different langis, and information concerning those who made them; their names are also given.
>
> The different langis are known, but as to who made each and who is buried there, some are [known] and others not.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9



temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becoming common. Government requirements of registration and the practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead naturally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at the breast), then *mavae* (weaned). This latter word however does not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast, though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing to stand), *akoako haele* (learning to walk), *haele* (walking), *lele holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and women. A general word for boy is *tamajii*. As he grows up he is *talavou jii* (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tangata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (middle-aged man), *fatu tangata motue* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai* (old, literally weak), *vetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting himself on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *unu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine* (general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii* (little, young, young woman), *fehine* (general word for woman), *fatu fehine* (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fehine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua*. These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate comparatively recent events: for example, a man may say that such a war was fought when his father was a young man. More remote occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

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**Capable of inflicting instant death,** this splendidly-designed throwing club is reminiscent of dauntless warriors in Tonga's past. Since warfare in the past was mainly carried out at close range on a man-to-man basis, Tongan weaponry consisted mostly of speats, bows and arrows, and clubs. When thrown, the heavily weighted head of a throwing club such as the one pictured here reversed and gave tremendous impact to the blow. Measuring about fourteen inches in length, this Tongan club is preserved today at the Palace Office in Nuku'alofa.

**Lavanoa ke tamate'i 'aki ha taha.** Ko e taha eni e ngaahi povai na'e fai 'aki e tau 'a e kau Tonga he taimi ko e. Na'a nau lahilahi ngaue'aki pe 'a e tao, ngahau mo e povai. Na'e 'iloa foki e poto mo e to'a 'a e kau Tonga 'i he mala'e tau. Na'e fu'u fakatu'utamaki 'aupito foki hono ngaue'aki e ngaahi povai hange ko ia 'oku ha heni. Ko e povai ko 'eni 'oku tauhi ia 'i he 'ofisi Palasi, Nuku'alofa.

[p.9-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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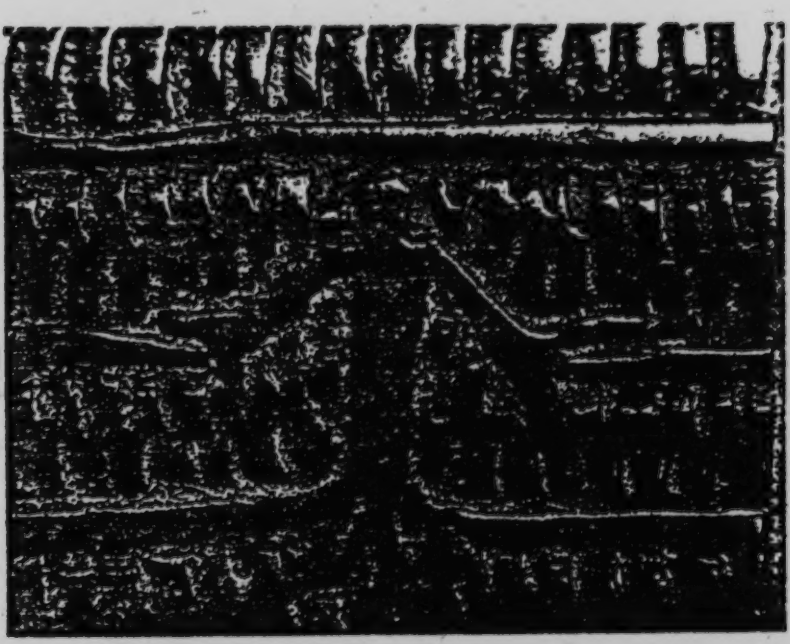
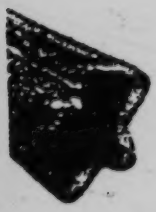


Early Tongan warriors sometimes gave names to their war clubs. The heavy, four foot long club at left is a carved replacement for the actual one, named *Mohekonokono* ("Bitter Sleep"), which was owned by the chief Vaha'i from the village of Fo'ui (western Tongatapu) and was broken during Tonga's civil war (1799-1852). The photo above shows a close-up of another exquisitely carved war club. Both are preserved today at Tupou College Museum.

[217]

Na'e fa'a fakahingoa e ngaahi povai 'a e kau tau Tonga'o ono'aho. 'Oku 'asi 'i he ta 'i to'ohema ha tatau 'o e povai ko Mohekonokono 'a ia na'e ngaue'aki 'e he to'a ko Vaha'i mei Fo'ui. Na'e motu foki e povai ko ia lolotonga e tau fakalotofonua mai he 1799 ki he 1852. Ko e fa'ahinga povai e 'e taha 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga 'a ia kuo 'osi hono tongi teuteu faka'ofo'ofa. 'Oku tauhi e ongo povai ni 'i he Misiume 'a Toloa.



[For remainder of club at left, see p. 10-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

'Atenisi Institute (above), the only privately operated educational institution in Tonga, is run by 'I. Futa Helu in Nuku'alofa; it is basically a high school, with technical and university divisions as well. There is also in Tonga a branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the photo at right shows 'Anau Fanua in the U.S.P. library; classes at U.S.P. in Nuku'alofa include law, commerce, Tongan traditions, economics, mathematics and French. In addition, Tonga has a Teacher Training College (Nuku'alofa) and an Agricultural College ('Eua), and there are a certain number of scholarships available each year for study abroad.

Ko e 'apisko eni ko 'Atenisi (ta 'i 'olunga) 'o ia 'oku fakalele 'e 'I. Futa Helu. Ko e 'apisko pe eni 'e taha 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku 'ikai fakalele 'e he pule'anga pe ko e taha 'o e ngaahi siasi. Ko e 'api ako'anga mu'olunga, pea 'i ai foki mo hono va'a ako faka'univesiti mo e ako fakatekinikale. 'Oku 'i Tonga foki mo e va'a 'o e 'Univesiti 'o e Pasifiki Saute. Ko 'Anau Fanua eni (ta 'i to'omata'u) 'i he loki laipeli 'o e 'apisko ko ia. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e 'Apisko Faka'aisko 'i Nuku'alofa, kae'uma'a e Kolisi Ngaue 'i 'Eua.

51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

# CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the [mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

TUPOU POSESI FANUA
*Tonga Traditions Committee,*
*Palace Records Office,*
*Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga*

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9



archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'.[1] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as *'tangata 'ilo'*. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965 I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

[1] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929), 53.